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BOOK REVIEWS

The First South. By John Richard Alden. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. vii, 144 pp. Bibliography, index. $3.50)

In The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, delivered at Louisiana State University in 1960, Professor John Richard Alden pointed out that there were many differences between the ante-bellum South and the First South. The older South, which is the subject of this provocative monograph, is less familiar, not only because of its remoteness in time, but also because it lacked a unique and distinctive regional character. That there was a South, though, when this nation was still in its infancy is Alden's thesis. In this volume, and in his earlier work, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789*, he shows that there was already a South in the eighteenth century, with strong feelings of sectionalism and regional apprehensions.

This First South, which existed during the years 1775-1789, is compared with the pre-Civil War South in land, climate, economy, and social order. The First South considered the wisdom of joining the Union in 1787-1789; its descendent supported disunion in 1861. There were many in the early period who wondered if the region might not suffer from the tyranny of a too-strong Congress; others thought Southern interests would be jeopardized by an unsympathetic North, particularly if it had greater voting strength in Congress. Indeed, there were many, North and South, who thought the sections should go their separate ways.

There was a geographic question at the time as to what should be called the South. George Washington called Virginia a "Middle State." In pre-Revolutionary days New York was sometimes referred to as southern. There was no controversy, though, as to the lower boundary. It was the St. Marys River, dividing the First South from East and West Florida, the loyalist colonies that had only been a part of the Empire since 1763, and which became, during the Revolution, havens of refuge for Tories.

Professor Alden discusses many of the issues which reveal that

Southern sectionalism was already a hard fact before the nineteenth century. Some of these North-South differences even affected areas outside the United States like Florida. For instance, in 1779, when Congress began to consider the goals it should strive for at the peace table, Northerners insisted that it was vital to obtain rights to fish on Newfoundland's Grand Banks. Southerners, on the other hand, believed that freedom of navigation on the Mississippi was more important and that it should be obtained even if the fishing rights had to be forfeited. The Mississippi question was related to de acquisition of the Floridas, which Southerners had long endorsed. When it was pointed out, though, by James Madison and others, that American expansion into Florida might cost us Spanish good will and help the idea was dropped. In fact, Virginians were even willing to abandon all attempts to secure rights on the Mississippi, if this were necessary.

Obviously, differences between North and South were not so great as to prevent the formation of the Union and the writing and ratification of the Constitution. In fact, as one now surveys the periods, we find substantiation for Madison's arguments that the basic issues were not between North and South or between large states and small, but between economic and regional interests. Economic and regional differences were not great obstacles to union in the 1780's; the situation changed drastically by 1860.

The author of *The First South* has given us little new material, but he does summarize - and summarize well - his own findings and those of other historians of the period. Both the general reader and the professional historian owe Professor Alden a substantial debt for all of his investigations and writings on the old South.

SAMUEL PROCTOR

University of Florida

President James Buchanan: A Biography. By Philip Shriver Klein. (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962. 506 pp. Illus., $7.50.)

Buchanan once looked with favor upon a flirtatious lady be-

cause "she was so impetuous and passionate, qualities that he particularly admired in others, having so little of them himself." Thus Professor Klein neatly sums up the cold, calculating nature of his subject. He achieves substantial success in rendering this shadowy figure into human form. Klein refuses to gild his prickly lily. The unattractive aspects of Buchanan's egocentric ways stand forth undisguised. At the same time, however, Klein shows how Buchanan must have appeared to his contemporaries - as a man of impressive appearance, blessed with a gift for effective expression and with practiced, courtly manners. He seemed destined for greatness. Instead he reached the White House.

It is with the presidential years that this book, so rewarding as a study in Buchanan's personality, suffers as a contribution to scholarship. This deterioration results in my opinion in part because of the imperfect allocation of space, that allots only 140 out of 429 pages to the tumultuous and passionate events of 1857-1861. Of course it is good to have the precise data that Klein presents on Pennsylvania politics in the age of the Jacksonians and on American diplomacy in Polk's administration. But a life of Buchanan is more than Buchanan's life. Most readers will want to know above all else, about the secession winter, and rightly.

Klein's prefatory explanation, that he "purposely condensed the treatment of the presidential years because they have been described very fully by many scholars," fails to satisfy, or at least brings up the complex question of the proper function of a biographer-historian. Certainly the presence of a large amount of contentious scholarship on the secession theme that Klein passes by relatively quickly, indicates a confusion of voices rather than a consensus upon which he may properly rely.

Ambiguities in documentation provide another reason for estimating this volume as less than completely satisfying. Consider pages 270-1. Here, referring to the 1857 inaugural address, Klein states that Buchanan at one stage added a sentence implying "that settlers in Kansas and Nebraska had no power over slavery in the territories until the time of framing a state constitution." Cass, learning this, forced Buchanan to remove this sentence, that was offensive to the originator of popular sovereignty, according to Klein's account. Yet a sentence appears in Richardson's version of Buchanan's speech that reads remarkably

like the one that is supposed to have been struck out at Cass's insistence. Klein does not cite Richardson's compilation, contenting himself with a reference to journalistic descriptions of the inauguration. From the evidence on this point as presented in Klein's *Buchanan,* confusion rather than illumination results.

Concerning the Kansas Republicans, Klein concludes on page 289 that "the main issue with them was not slavery, nor the Negro; their prime objective was political power." Perhaps he is correct. He offers no evidence at all to sustain his judgment on the tricky question of motivations for political action. Evidence exists to sustain his view. But other evidence also is at hand to justify its being questioned. And if Klein is expressing his estimation of Buchanan's analysis, rather than his own, he does not make this clear.

He makes his admiration for Buchanan abundantly clear. In a stirring conclusion, Klein judges that "in a quieter era" Buchanan would have performed as a "great" pesident. Of course it is the essential point that normality was the only arena in which men of Buchanan's stamp could perform at all effectively, America a century ago was engaged in a process of vast change. Buchanan could not keep up the pace. He was not so much obscured by Lincoln or by the war, as that he courted obscurity. While the nation he had so recently governed sought survival; while one out of every ten Americans gained freedom first by arms and then by law; and while his successor in the White House perceived opportunities for the exercise of power where Buchanan had seen only constitutional limitations, the sage of Wheatland contented himself with preparing an apologia of his actions during the secession weeks.

Klein's *Buchanan* will serve as an essential, pioneering link in our understanding of Buchanan the man. It will not, however, be equally useful in enlarging our knowledge of the most important events in which Buchanan played a role.

HAROLD M. HYMAN

University of California, Los Angeles

"Fortificaciones de la Florida [Fortifications of Florida]." By L. A. Vigneras. *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* (Seville), XVI (1959), 533-552.

It has been my observation that Florida historians, Florida-history-interested libraries and the *Florida Historical Quarterly* have been unacquainted with Florida books and especially Florida articles published in Spain. Just recently the newest issue of the heavy *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* of the dynamic Hispanic Institute of the University of Seville carried this Florida article by a most able and recognized scholar.

The article deals with the first six Spanish forts in St. Augustine, in existence from 1565 to the Drake Attack in 1586. The second part of the Vigneras study deals with the four Santa Elena forts (Port Royal Sound in S. C.) from 1565 to 1587-88. I can state that the author has not found revolutionary new material. He has discussed a few new maps of the forts not available in printed sources but which this reviewer has seen in the St. Augustine Historical Society collection. It is possible that one or two completely new sources and even maps have been unearthed by Vigneras, but he has relied heavily on J. Thurber Connor's *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida* and he was unaware of the Connor article, "The Nine Old Wooden Forts of St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IV (January-April, 1926), 103, 171.

But in the difficult reconstruction of the history of Spanish Florida any study that has new data from new documents is welcome. We here in Florida should give more attention to work on Florida done in Spain. This essay is an example of fine scholarship.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

University of South Florida

From Shiloh to San Juan. By John P. Dyer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. Revised edition. 275 pp. Illustrations. $5.00)

One of the interesting manifestations of the current craze for publishing Civil War books in the reprinting of a great many of the old standbys. The volume in question is one of these, and this reviewer seriously doubts whether the reprinting was absolutely necessary. Dr. Dyer's life of General Joseph Wheeler is as excellent a biography today as it was when originally written. It

brings to life a remarkable Confederate military figure, but it does not stop at Appomattox. Wheeler was one of those Southerners who readily adjusted himself to the new nation, took a leading part in politics, and in his later years proudly wore the uniform of the United States Army. Too much of the Civil War literature which is appearing is divisive in nature, and it is refreshing to re-read a volume which ends on a happy note of reunion.

This reviewer recognizes that Dr. Dyer's administrative duties have prevented him from making a thorough revision of his earlier work. It is unfortunate, however, that the bibliographical data is identical with that in the original volume and includes no material published since 1940. Perhaps the reprint will attract some who were not familiar with General Wheeler, but the great majority of those who would be interested already have access to the original biography. If Dr. Dyer did not have time to do a real revision, he could have performed a greater service to the profession by turning the task over to someone else.

Scholars will continue to refer to the original volume, because it is footnoted and has a more complete index.

BENJAMIN F. ROGERS

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Guide to Materials on Latin America in the National Archives, Vol. I. By John P. Harrison. (Washington: General Services Administration, The National Archives and Records Service, 1961. 246 pp.)

The author of this work in the first three lines of his preface tells clearly its purpose as a "guide to describe and to assist the investigator in locating the materials in the National Archives concerned with Latin America: defined here as the Western Hemisphere south of the United States." Therefore, what Florida material is cited-and there is quite a bit-deals with the Spanish Florida eras and first territorial years. Dr. John P. Harrison, the author, is a most able scholar and administrator-a deserving successor and heir to the late Roscoe R. Hill whose archival studies and guides of Latin America are of so much value to the Florida historian.

This guide will eventually be a two-volume work. The first volume "covers the records of the Departments of State, the Treasury, War, and the Navy and the 'General' records of the Government. The second volume will describe the records relating to Latin America for the remaining departments and the independent agencies and for the legislative and judicial branches of the Government." Under "the General Records" come such matters as Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations; Records of International and Domestic Claims Commissions; Records of the United States Participation in Foreign Boundary Disputes; Records of United States Participation in International Conferences, Commissions, and Expositions.

A final note in our exposition of the guide: Harrison tells us that this guide and its yet unborn sister volume "is but one of a large number of publications designed to make the records in the National Archives better known and easier to use." Professor Harrison considers his guide "a specialized area supplement to the general *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* (1948)." The author also reminds the reader of the *List of National Archives Microfilm Publications* (1961).

Since the forthcoming second volume will have the general index for both volumes the Florida material must be found by paging through the book, a most tedious job. But there are interesting Florida documents. Page 75 cites Gregor McGregor and Luis Aury documentation dealing with Amelia Island which shows that the rascal Aury "illegally introduced into the United States on Amelia Island at least 1000 Africans." Harrison, on page 115, lists twelve volumes of Florida material under "Department of State; Territorial papers 1777-1828;" eleven volumes have been microfilmed. Page 117 shows eight more volumes "and eight expanding envelopes," entitled Florida Archives, which represent the efforts of the United States to recover the archives of East and West Florida.

Other interesting and lesser known Florida documents include records of the Colllectors of Customs of St. Augustine and Key West from 1823 to 1833 (p. 138), reports of Special Agents to the Treasury Department informing of smuggling operations in Florida (p. 144), and records of the United States Coast Guard patrolling the Florida coast (p. 148).

There is no doubt that this guide more than justifies its exis-

tence, but we await the second volume which will have the needed index.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

University of South Florida

The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819. By Thomas P. Abernethy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. xvi, 529 pp. Maps, charts, essay on authorities, index $7.50.)

This is Volume IV of the projected ten-volume *History of the South*, of which eight volumes have now appeared. Professor Abernethy is qualified by a professional lifetime of writing about this period and region.

The author raises the question as to when sectionalism originated, when the South became a self-consciously distinctive region, and points out that there could be no sectionalism until there was nationalism. Further, he reminds us that early sectionalism was East versus West rather than North versus South, and that intrastate differences were often more significant than any inter-regional quarrels. He suggests that the South was, if anything, more national in outlook at times in this period than was New England. This further implies that the North-South sectionalism of a serious and continuing nature begins after the period he surveys - the position held by most historians.

This is, of course, not a Florida book though there are many references to the Spanish Floridas and the movement for acquisition by the United States. Chapters on the "Blount Conspiracy" and on the West Florida rebellion, together with some attention to the career of William Augustus Bowles, give it a distinctly Florida flavor. These sections of the book are better described as parts of a lengthy treatment of the international rivalry for the control of the "Old Southwest." James Wilkinson and Aaron Burr come in for full shares of attention.

The book, then, is neither of the South nor Florida but is frontier history. Two chapters on the Yazoo Land companies and another on the New Orleans campaign are further testimony to the importance of that rapidly growing region not yet southern except in the geographic sense. This was the dynamic section

of what was in another generation to become the South of which we are accustomed more traditionally to think - the South of cotton plantations, rice and cane fields, as well as tobacco farms, with plantation slavery firmly established. But in the years 1789 to 1819 it was largely a frontier in which the land speculator, previously identified by Professor Abernethy as the middleman of the westward movement, is the more "typical" Southerner.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

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The Negro in the American Revolution. By Benjamin Quarles. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. 231 pp. Bibliography and index. $6.00.)

This volume fills an important gap in the historiography of the American Revolution. Covering more than the military contributions of the Negro to the war, it gives many interesting and important facts on his social and economic status and his contributions to human relations in Revolutionary America. The author has delimited his study with arbitrary dates, but they seem appropriate and logical. It begins with the Boston Massacre in 1770 and ends with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, thus enabling the author to touch upon the early abolition movement which was an off-shoot of the natural rights concepts of the Revolution.

Many obstacles were overcome in the preparation of this book, chief among them being the lack of records left by Negroes. The minority who could write were seldom prepared to maintain diaries, memoirs, or similar records. As a consequence, the author was dependent almost entirely upon the incomplete and sketchy records left by others. The author seems to have taken all possible steps to maintain an even keel in his evaluation of the data he used.

Probably not less than 5,000 Negroes were in the armies of each side during the American Revolution. This was not unprecedented, as hundreds of Negroes had been enlisted in the militia during earlier Indian wars. For a year or so after the

Revolution began, Southern leaders were successful in censoring the use of Negroes, but the growing need for manpower ended this bias. Only free Negroes were welcomed at first, but after 1777 any willing man was welcomed. In Revolutionary military service there was no segregation, but most Negro soldiers were infantry privates, orderlies, messengers, cooks, or servants. Hundreds of Negroes were in the navies, practically every ships' crew containing the names of a few Negroes. "Privateer" crews probably had larger proportions of Negroes than did the regular navies of either side.

In addition to direct military service, hundreds of Negroes were used on both sides as spies, informers, guides, manual laborers, medical orderlies, and craftsmen. Free Negroes were hired and slaves were conscripted or leased. Most of these auxiliaries were armed when serious emergencies arose.

After the Revolution, the fate of the Negro participants is a not always honorable story. Some went with the English in the belief that they would find freedom and better treatment. Some did, but hundreds were sold into slavery in the West Indies. Some thousands removed with their Tory masters to Florida, the Bahamas, the West Indies, or other areas. Probably not less than 20,000 left the United States under these circumstances. Perhaps another 5,000, acquired by French officers during the war, were removed from America. For a time those who remained fared much better. The "Revolutionary spirit" founded in the concepts of brotherhood, liberty, and equality could not condone the enslavement of former soldiers and helpers. Many of the states moved toward the abolition of slavery. Colored soldiers from Northern states were often entitled to land bounties and many took advantage of such opportunities. Even in the Southern states, the lot of the Negro participants was improved as a result of the war. The bad conditions usually connected with slavery in the South developed later.

The author has outdone himself in providing the scholar with all of the details and sources he could wish. Footnote documentation is most complete. In physical construction, the volume is tasteful, adequate, and complete.

THEODORE R. PARKER

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